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**Worldwide Report**

# **ARMS CONTROL**

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13 January 1986

## WORLDWIDE REPORT

### ARMS CONTROL

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

FRG CABINET DECIDES TO BEGIN SDI NEGOTIATIONS WITH U.S.

Bangemann To Conduct Negotiations

LD181107 Hamburg DPA in German 1044 GMT 18 Dec 85

[Text] Bonn, 18 Dec (DPA) -- The federal cabinet has today decided to start negotiations with the United States on SDI. As has become known in Bonn on this, the Federal Government intends to agree on framework conditions for the exchange of research results and thus to cover the flank in civil law of the companies and institutes which want to take part in the SDI research on missile defense in space.

There are not to be any treaty-based political commitments. There were also no plans either for state participation or for the provision of state funds. The negotiations with Washington will be conducted by Federal Economics Minister Martin Bangemann.

Kohl Comments

LD1/1525 Hamburg DPA in German 1150 GMT 17 Dec 85

[Excerpt] [No dateline as received] -- Chancellor Helmut Kohl, in an interview on South German Radio, said that the SDI decision involves neither production nor deployment, but research, which could continue up to 8 years. According to the chancellor, eight West European countries have promised the Americans their cooperation. Kohl made plain that the technological development, although its effect should not be underestimated, is for him no reason "to participate in SDI." Indeed, he is not the initiator of this project. However, SDI is a reality and has evolved for "reasons of security development." Kohl again made it clear that no state funds will flow into SDI research. What is at stake is the participation of German firms in American research.

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON FRG SDI NEGOTIATIONS DECISION

'Text' of Decision

LD181423 Hamburg DPA in German 1313 GMT 18 Dec 85

["Text" of 18 December cabinet decision to begin negotiations with the United States for participation in SDI research]

[Text] Bonn, 18 Dec (DPA) -- The Federal Government intends to reach agreement with the United States on an improvement in the framework of conditions for the reciprocal transfer of scientific research findings and technical knowledge. This is also intended to improve the legal position of those German research institutes and firms which decide to participate in the SDI research program as contractors.

In this respect the general regulations for the protection of secrets, technology transfer, rights of ownership, use and exploitation as well as pricing, price control, and the placing of orders will be developed -- in so far as they exist -- or formulated.

The federal economics minister is delegated to begin the necessary negotiations with the U.S. Administration in January 1986.

The Federal Government reaffirms its position of 27 March 1985 and the government statement by the federal chancellor in the Bundestag of 18 April 1985, in which it declared its political support for the United States' research program which has been set in motion as SDI.

The Federal Government does not want state participation in the SDI research program. Consequently, it will not make public funds available for cooperation projects, which, incidentally, has not been called for by the U.S. Administration.

The Federal Government welcomes the intensive consultations taking place between the U.S. Administration and the alliance partners and within the NATO framework on all topics of the Geneva negotiations and on questions concerning SDI. They are indispensable for the Federal Government and emphasize the importance which the United States attaches to agreement with its alliance partners. In this respect the strategic consequences of SDI research and those for arms control policy stand in the foreground for the Federal Government.

The Federal Government affirms its demand that SDI research should develop into cooperative solutions. The Federal Government will continue to make an effort -- including debate in the West European Union -- that the Europeans should contribute by adopting a joint position on consulting with the American alliance partner.

Genscher Comments

LD181443 Hamburg DPA in German 1329 GMT 18 Dec 85

[Text] Bonn, 18 Dec (DPA) -- Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said on Wednesday in reply to a question from DPA that he was "very satisfied" with the cabinet decision to start negotiations with the United States on establishing a framework for the transfer of research findings. In FDP circles, the considerable agreement between the cabinet document and the decisions of the parliamentary group and the party executive was pointed out. Negotiations on the whole technological sphere, with which the position of the German companies which are interested in participating in SDI research is "also" to be improved, were now at the top of the agenda.

For the CDU/CSU, its floor leader, Deputy Volker Ruehe welcomed the cabinet's "green light" and demanded "swift" negotiations. What form the framework agreement would take would depend on the outcome of the negotiations. The decisive political support from the Federal Government had existed since 18 April. The cabinet decision had not added anything to it or taken anything away. CDU/CSU disarmament expert Juergen Todenhoefer called the cabinet decision "sensible and wise" and stressed in particular Bonn's interest in security policy.

FDP General Secretary Helmut Haussmann considered "the governing coalition's ability to act was proved once again" by this decision. It was important that the FDP chairman, Economics Minister Martin Bangemann, had received the task of conducting the negotiations.

The Coordinating Committee of the Peace Movement announced an intensified domestic confrontation. It stated that the cabinet decision had come about against the declared desires of a majority of the population.

SPD Criticizes Government

LD181818 Hamburg DPA in German 1728 GMT 18 Dec 85

[Text] Bonn, 18 Dec (DPA) -- The opposition SPD has strongly criticized the SDI decision. It is now official that the Federal Government wants a framework agreement with the United States on participation by German industry in the American "star wars" program, SPD group chairman, Deputy Horst Ehmke said. Although the government is trying to disguise the political aspect of its decision, it amounts to political and moral support for an extremely controversial and dubious arms project. The FDP, which had repeatedly expressed criticism of SDI in recent months, had given in once again "purely in order to hang on to power."

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### FURTHER REACTION TO FRG SDI NEGOTIATIONS DECISION

#### Strauss Comments

LD221533 Hamburg DPA in German 1349 GMT 22 Dec 85

[Text] Hamburg, 22 Dec (DPA)-- The Federal Government's decision to begin negotiations with the United States in January on the participation of German firms in the U.S. research program for a space-based missile defense system (SDI) in the opinion of CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss is "not quite satisfactory." In an interview with the newspaper BILD (Monday's edition), Strauss says that no cabinet decision was needed to begin negotiations, only to approve the results. Apart from the interests of the German economy, it was also a question of expanding the SDI program to cover European security interests, as "we are threatened by Soviet short- and medium-range missiles." To keep quiet about that would be "unnecessary soft-pedaling." The text of the interview was prereleased to DPA.

#### Papers Remark

DW191130 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0605 GMT 19 Dec 85

[From Press Review]

[Text] One of the editorial topics today is the cabinet decision on SDI negotiations with the United States.

SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG writes: It requires quite a bit of art to promote a third-rate problem to becoming an issue determining the national fate, thus unleashing a major domestic political quarrel, only to have it eventually fall between the cracks.

The quarrel is about SDI and the form of German participation in a project that will take shape in the next millennium, if at all. The federal cabinet decided it in its own way by officially declaring a long-term strategic problem to be an economic-political problem, thus putting it into the hands of Economics Minister Bangemann. In negotiations with Washington, there will be no political stipulation or government subsidies. Why then was there a month-long tempest in a teapot, asks the newspaper.

Essen's NEUE KUHR-ZEITUNG notes: It would be better if the Federal Government made it clear internally and externally that it does not necessarily follow every U.S. move, even if it wants to reach for the stars. It would also be good if scientific-technical cooperation were not a one-way street. It would be to our greatest advantage if Bonn were to succeed, together with

West Europeans, in convincing Washington that even with the SDI missile defense system in place no absolute security can be achieved, not for the United States, not for Europe. None of that is in accordance with the line followed by Kohl and Woerner, but it is in line with Riesenhuber's ideas. He is concerned with protecting German research and development work. And it is in line with Genscher, who, as an experienced foreign minister, has rejected the SDI vision of a total defensive network in space from the very beginning. It was certainly because of him that economics minister was commissioned to negotiate, so that negotiations are now in the hands of the FDP.

The Ludwigshafen DIE RHEINPFALZ states: Kohl and his government went to quite some effort to make a decision. No other government has dealt so comprehensively with the SDI project. Therefore, such accusations as obedience in advance reflect on those who make them. Even if SDI turned out some day to be just a dream of a world without nuclear weapons, such great results will have been achieved in high technology, applicable in the FRG, that any decision other than yesterday's would have been irresponsible from a state, as well as from the economic-political standpoint.

MUENCHNER MERKUR writes: There was no doubt that Washington would stick to the SDI program, with or without German cooperation. The Soviets have been remarkably successful in this type of research for some time. In contrast to France, the FRG, as a country directly involved in the East-West dispute, does not participate in too many involved decisions. It, therefore, depends particularly on a functioning Bonn-Washington axis. SDI goes to the core of the Atlantic alliance, whether one likes it or not. He who withdraws to the corner to sulk in such a situation, thus discarding every opportunity to exert influence and trusting that the Americans will do the right thing, would be acting politically foolish, as Bundestag President Philipp Jenninger put it

DIE WELT sees the situation as the following: Helmut Kohl has achieved what he wanted, negotiations with the United States that will lead to a framework agreement on German firms cooperating in SDI research. The FDP saved face by achieving the goal of negotiations beyond SDI--a general improvement of framework conditions for the mutual transfer of scientific research results and technological findings. That is exactly what the Yeltschik Commission called the optimal achievement from the very beginning. It is decisive that the cabinet decision expressly confirms political support of the U.S. research program, support expressed in the 18 April government decision.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### VARIOUS VIEWS TO FRG PARTICIPATION IN SDI

#### Kohl's Remarks

LD131642 Hamburg DPA in German 1550 GMT 13 Dec 85

[Text] Bonn, 13 Dec (DPA) -- Chancellor Helmut Kohl believes the U.S. defense initiative or SDI is of great significance to the security of Europe and the Federal Republic. In an interview with the Bonn paper GENERAL-ANZEIGER (Saturday's edition), the chancellor points out that so far firms in eight European countries, including France, have accepted the invitation from the Americans to cooperate in SDI.

In Kohl's view the Americans put a high value on a German decision for a framework agreement on SDI. The chancellor confirmed that a decision will be made in the coming weeks upon embarking on negotiations with Washington. He regards the American research as justified. European and German security will not be uncoupled; this is a fundamental point, "so long as the superpowers do not reach an arrangement to our disadvantage."

#### Genscher Comments

LD151352 Hamburg DPA in German 1244 GMT 13 Dec 85

[Excerpt] Bonn, 13 Dec (DAP) -- Over the weekend prior to the cabinet decision about FRG participation in the U.S. plan for a space-based missile defense system (SDI) planned for Wednesday different quarters have again been expressing their views on the question of cooperation.

In the opinion of Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP), there will only be "minimal participation" by FRG industry in SDI. FRG participation is being much exaggerated, Genscher said in an interview today with South West Radio. The research program is an "American program," which will have an influence on joint security in the alliance. He also stressed that it must be clear that "we do not want to arm the East to death nor do we want to shake the East off economically."

Richard Burt, the U.S. ambassador in Bonn, told Deutschlandfunk it is not true that the United States urgently wants a framework agreement on FRG participation in SDI. This is a matter for the Federal Government. Participation by FRG firms is possible with or without a framework agreement.

### Scientists Open Letter

LDO71353 Hamburg DPA in German 1615 GMT 6 Dec 85

[Text] Munich, 6 Dec (DPA) -- The open letter from 350 physicists, mathematicians, and technicians from the Munich area who refuse to take part in research connected with the U.S. SDI project has meanwhile been signed by over 3,500 scientists and technicians throughout the country. This was announced in Munich on Friday by the initiators of the open letter physicists Professors Juergen Ehlers and Werner Fuss of the Garching Max Planck Institute.

In their recent letter to Chancellor Helmut Kohl the scientists stress that their rejection of SDI is not the view of a minority. Apart from the result of collecting signatures, the impression has been intensified by the many discussions in which the majority of scientists and technicians reject the SDI project. SDI leads to an additional danger to security. The signatories of the appeal would equally reject any striving for superiority by the Soviet Union. "But the SDI plans come from Washington, not Moscow."

### Polls Shows Opposition

DW100845 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 2045 GMT 9 Dec 85

[Report by Olaf Buhl during the "Heute-Journal" program]

[Excerpt] SDI is vehemently controversial among the people. On behalf of ZDF, the research group for elections asked more than 1,000 FRG citizens whether the FRG should participate in the U.S. "star wars" project. The result: 31 percent want the Federal Republic to participate, but 46 percent do not. Amazing enough, 22 percent never even heard of the space-based defense missile project.

There is a clear majority for SDI among CDU voters; 47 percent want participation, while 31 percent oppose participation. In the case of the SPD, conversely, only 22 percent want SDI, while 58 percent oppose "star wars." FDP followers are even more determined in recommending SDI than the CDU/CSU: 51 percent are for it, while 36 percent against it. And the Greens? Only 12 percent want the U.S. defense initiative, 76 percent do not.

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**SDI AND SPACE ARMS**

**FRG'S KOHL FORESEES BETTER EAST-WEST TIES IN 1986**

**LD1920 Hamburg DPA in German 1904 GMT 19 Dec 85**

[Excerpts] Bonn, 19 Dec (DPA) -- Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl believes that internal and external peace is assured for 1986. In an interview for the southwest broadcasting authority television program "Landesspiegel," broadcast in Bonn this evening, Kohl said that "all the signs point to 1986 being a good year". Kohl said that the coming year also offers a good opportunity to make progress in small steps in disarmament negotiations. In this connection he described the U.S. SDI research project as "not only politically but also morally justified."

In the interview Kohl denied speculation that tensions have arisen between Bonn and Paris, not least on account of German participation in the SDI program. There have never been any such tensions, he said. French-German relations are "excellent."

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FRG'S GENSCHER COMMENTS ON SDI

LD191219 Hamburg DPA in German 1122 GMT 19 Dec 85

[Excerpt] Bonn, 19 Dec (DPA) — The problems which result from American and Soviet SDI-type research "will be with us for many years to come." This warning was issued by Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on Thursday. In an interview with the DEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE SONNTAGSBLATT, distributed by the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Genscher again emphasized the problems posed by SDI must be discussed within the alliance.

The cabinet decision on legal, technological negotiations with the United States did not deal "with the real problem." The SDI debate sometimes obscures the view because the overall East-West dimension comprises much more than merely conflict over SDI.

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**SDI AND SPACE ARMS**

**FRG BUNDESWEHR COMMANDERS HOLD 3-DAY MEETING**

**LD151230 Hamburg DPA in German 0801 GMT 15 Dec 85**

[Excerpts] Bonn, 15 Dec (DPA) -- Inspector General of the Bundeswehr Wolfgang Altenburg still sees many questions in the U.S. plans for a space-based missile defense system (SDI). In an interview with DPA on Sunday in connection with the meeting of commanders in Karlsruhe that begins on Tuesday, 17 December, Altenburg said that for the Europeans it is of decisive importance that Europe's security is not uncoupled from the security of the United States as a result of SDI. It would be disastrous if the superpowers were the only ones to be invulnerable as a result of space-based missile defense systems. This would mean that a conventional war in Europe would become feasible once again.

However, Altenburg put forth the point of view that it is important to bring European and national interests into the current U.S. research work and considerations. "For me that means: We must take part, because only by taking part can we exert an influence." The financial means needed to strengthen NATO's conventional defense capability must not be spent on SDI. "But there is also the possibility that money that flows into SDI research will bring knowledge that will help to strengthen conventional defense." One must "bear the risks in mind" in the space program.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### FRENCH PRESIDENT DISCUSSES SDI

LD152227 Paris Television Service in France 1900 GMT 15 Dec 85

[Interview with President Francois Mitterrand by Paris TF-1 Television correspondent Yves Mourousi in Paris on "That Concerns Us, Mr President" series--live]

[Excerpts] [Mourousi] Still on the theme of space, why has France turned down the U.S. "star wars" project so dear to President Reagan, when another part of Europe has agreed to it? I want to know what France's exact policy is in this area.

[Mitterrand] President Reagan spoke to me about it for the first time himself in Bonn at the summit of industrialized countries in the first part of the year. He explained it to me. He explained that he wanted France to be able to participate in this SDI--Strategic Defense Initiative--as subcontractors. That is to say that the plans, the strategy with military objectives, they are satellites around the earth, which will keep a watch on our planet and will intervene in such a way that by nonnuclear means, namely lasers, they could destroy from takeoff the missiles that could come from elsewhere to launch a war. It is for military purposes. At that moment there was a conference which was taking place in Geneva, which was still taking place in Geneva--you saw Messrs Reagan and Gorbachev meeting there, which already had this on the agenda. [sentence as heard] Personally, I think that it was better to let discussion flow between the two greatest powers before deciding unilaterally to take part in this program. As for France, I think she should first of all turn to Europe to try to establish a space strategy for civilian purposes. If the need arises for military purposes--this remains to be seen--of course, France is in a position to do this, but Europe is not yet in a suitable political position to take this--how shall I express it?--planetary outlook.

So we in France are growing. It is the country, at the moment, that is launching the ideas, which is initiating projects. We, too, have ambitions in space. I insist that there should be observation satellites, but SDI--to act as subcontractors--it is the United States that will make all the decisions, what they will order, what they will....

[Mourousi, interrupting] But all the same, there are a hundred or so businesses, Mr President, around a hundred French businesses that are chasing after the contracts....

[Mitterrand] French businesses can sell what they want to whoever will buy from them. I am not there like a bogeyman to prevent French businesses from working. But I refuse to attach myself to a military space plan which, in fact, will do nothing but worsen the situation of international tension and which would put France in the position of a subordinate. I refuse, that is all, there you are, this is my reason, and it is as simple as that.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTER QUILES DOUBTS CREDIBILITY OF SDI

PM181416 Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Dec 85 p 6

[Interview with Defense Minister Paul Quiles by Jacques Isnard--date and place not given]

[Text] [Isnard] You have just returned from your first official visit to the United States. The Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] was the focal point of your talks. What is your overall impression?

[Quiles] The main impression relates to the men in charge of this question: I was struck by the strength of their conviction, their enthusiasm, and their determination. A number of guidelines emerge from the many ideas they are producing. Although views sometimes differ, I could distinguish three approaches.

With regard to the long term, after the years 2015-2020, I think what was being said was essentially political. The American people are being offered the means of ridding themselves once and for all of the threat of nuclear apocalypse.

With regard to the medium term, the proposals are essentially military. The aim is to propose solutions to the maintenance of the reprisal capability of American missiles in the framework of the present doctrine.

Finally, I see a third type of technological and industrial argument.

Given the timescale, these concerns have an almost immediate character: The SDI looks like a 5-year research program which, in some respects, has already entered the research and development phase.

[Isnard] The long-term plans of the officials herald the disappearance of nuclear weapons, rendered useless by SDI, at an unspecified time. Do you think this is credible?

[Quiles] The Americans' presentation of SDI is concerned with making an impact on people.

With regard to what is said, very different expressions have been used to describe the project: "Strategic Defense Initiative" came first, but this term, which is too complex for public opinion, has been replaced by the expression "star wars." However, this description worried those who are proposing to abolish war through SDI. There was then talk of "space defense" and then of a "peace shield." Some people are now talking about the idea of a protective "bubble" above the United States or of a "dome" placed above the Soviet Union.

With regard to the impact of what people are being shown, I am struck by the importance assumed on television screens throughout the world by multicolored skit has and very evocative cartoons including film clips of real tests on earth or in space. This is reminiscent of some scenes in great films like "War Games," or "2001, a Space Odyssey."

What has been achieved so far in the scientific sphere? The Americans have carried out three tests: the destruction of a warhead reentering the atmosphere by a ground-launched missile; the destruction of a satellite by a small missile launched from a plane; the destruction by ground based laser of an old rocket positioned on the ground 1 km away from it.

The first test is a classical one and stems from a well-known concept: that of terminal ABM defenses. Such systems already exist in the USSR and we already know how to protect ourselves against them. Paradoxically, the second test shows the great fragility of a space defense system. Finally the third test is perplexing: What relation is there between a laser on the ground firing at a close target fixed to the ground and a laser in space which has to destroy a fast-moving missile several thousand kilometers away? At present, powerful lasers are as big as an apartment building, and, at least for the time being, no one can place such a volume and such payloads in a satellite.

I do not dispute the fact that very great progress may be achieved in the next 30 years. But let us recall a few facts relating to the implications of the full implementation of the plan:

- 1 -- Several hundred satellites would have to be launched and one satellite would have to be put into space every week to maintain and replace them;
- 2 -- Satellites carrying directed energy weapons (lasers, particle beams, and so forth) would weigh several dozen metric tons and would be very bulky. At present, it is impossible to make a powerful laser less than 100 meters long;
- 3 -- The lasers have to be fed by sources of electricity of the order of 10 billion volts, which in practice means putting veritable nuclear power stations into orbit;
- 4 -- It is not enough just to have satellites carrying directed energy weapons, you also need a very large number of radar surveillance satellites, optical satellites, communications satellites, and so forth. It is also necessary to place huge computers in space with a capacity and speed 100 times greater than anything envisaged for the next 10 years.

There is nothing to say that all this will not be technically possible sometime in the distant future. But the most optimistic forecasts do not enable us to regard the project as credible in the immediate present, even on a 50-year timescale. Science may make progress, sometimes even rapid progress, but it cannot achieve miracles: The laws of physics or celestial mechanics cannot be broken.

On the whole, after my visit to the United States I am still doubtful about the probability that such a system can be built. My doubts are strengthened when I see that some great American scientists themselves are warning their political leaders against an objective based on excessive confidence in the unlimited possibilities of science.

People will argue that the Americans succeeded in going to the moon. Allow me to point out, however, that the aim of the Apollo program was not only to go to the



moon, but to stay there, to live there, and to install factories there. That part of the project has disappeared. After four trips, which were successful, the plan to use the moon was abandoned by both the United States and the USSR.

I think the same will be true of SDI, which will produce some results which will of course be very spectacular, but it will not be possible to implement it in full.

[Isnard] You spoke of a second set of ideas aimed at strengthening nuclear deterrence by a military plan to prevent a Soviet first strike. Is this more serious?

[Quiles] I am surprised by the fuss the media is making about this plan. It is the first time in history that a military program, which ought to be kept top secret, has been given so much publicity. This leads me to think that we have here a plan with more of a political than a military purpose. Indeed, in the sphere of military strategy, I note that many problems have not yet been solved:

1 -- The system seems fragile. The Americans and the Soviets have already demonstrated their ability to destroy satellites. This makes it all the easier to imagine the capacity the two superpowers, or even we, will have in 10 to 15 years to penetrate a space-based defense system. The cost of a project to effect the destruction of a space shield system is much lower than the cost of installing this system.

2 -- We are already able to protect missile warheads from outside attack. They resist the effects of nuclear explosions. In the future, the very body of the missiles may also be rendered invulnerable.

3 -- It is easy to deceive the system with a very large number of missiles without nuclear warheads -- which are therefore cheap -- or to saturate it by firing a large number of missiles simultaneously.

4 -- There are already nuclear weapons which are not transported outside the atmosphere and which are therefore protected from the space shield (cruise missiles, "stealth" bombers, nuclear artillery, nuclear torpedoes, and so forth).

5 -- People forget the incredible imbalance in the conventional arsenals: It is very clear that nuclear deterrence has made a major contribution to the fact that Europe has not had a war for 40 years despite this imbalance.

SDI's real purpose seems to me to be to create a consensus within American society. Thanks to this project, President Reagan has rallied most sections of opinion in his country. SDI is primarily a response to the expectations of the American people for whom the only real threat is presented by the Soviet intercontinental missiles. It satisfies the pacifist movements and the churches which protest nuclear weapons while still being deeply attached to their country. It is in keeping with the wishes of the military and of industrialists to strengthen the American defense effort and boost the image of the United States as a great power. Finally, it poses a challenge of the "new frontier" type, rather similar to the challenge of "conquering the moon." These are all themes likely to unite and mobilize American society.

[Isnard] Are you convinced by the third set of ideas relating to the short-term technological repercussions?

[Quiles] For the time being SDI is a research program aimed at acquiring the necessary technologies for the space shield. These include:

-- Directed energy weapons (lasers, particle beams) for which the aim is to achieve the greatest possible power and miniaturization in order to place them on a satellite;



- The development of optronic (infrared) and radar technologies to detect, pick out false alarms, and determine the trajectory of the missiles;
- The development of optical technologies (mirrors to direct the laser beams);
- The development of powerful computing means to manage the battle (computers, software, and so forth).

This is undoubtedly a challenge which the United States has set itself. Like the program to conquer the moon, there must be considerable technological and economic repercussions for American society, and at a military level, with regard to conventional weapons.

Will the considerable financial effort envisaged be in keeping with the probable technological gain? The question deserves to be asked, even if there is no doubt that any human enterprise on a certain scale constitutes a challenge.

In this respect, Europe is not remaining passive. Eureka, the European program launched at France's initiative, will make it possible to pool scientific knowledge and carry out high technology projects. Of course, these projects will relate to the civilian sphere, but it is not impossible that some may have military applications (lasers, powerful computers).

[Leonard] Can you tell us what reservations France has? Are your doubts about the system's credibility the only explanation?

[Quiles] The reason we have expressed serious reservations about the project launched by one of our allies is that we doubt whether it can be implemented and because we think it presents risks.

Why? First, because SDI will probably revive the arms race. Neither of the two superpowers can accept strategic inferiority. Since offensive systems -- ballistic missiles or antisatellite weapons -- will be less costly than the proposed defensive system, the response to SDI will be a new increase in offensive arsenals. Second, space defense is likely to be another Maginot Line, whose cost will exceed all previous military projects. However, financial resources are not inexhaustible, not even for the superpowers!

In addition, this project creates what I will call a conceptual destabilization, which may rapidly call into question the defense policies of the Western world, although there is not yet anything to replace them with. I am afraid that SDI might initially arouse false hopes, and that might break the consensus in France on nuclear deterrence.

Finally, this project does not provide the appropriate answer to the problems of East-West confrontation in Europe. The SDI satellites will not make it possible to hold back the Warsaw Pact forces. SDI's first effect would be the emergence of unequal zones of security: On the one hand, the superpowers, and, on the other, Europe, where public opinion is likely to be divided between those who will put their fate in the hands of the superpowers' and those who will take refuge in neutralism and pacifism.

In conclusion, SDI may completely upset the strategic concept on which peace has been based since the last war. The trouble is that this project only replaces it with a remote objective which is, to say the least, uncertain.

[Isnard] Can Europe's defense be improved with SDI? Can the French Government take the initiative in proposing to its European partners the construction of a space shield adapted to their needs (SS-20 missiles, cruise missiles).

[Quiles] The space shield envisaged in the SDI project is adapted to long-range and intermediate-range missiles. This shield would therefore have to be capable of intercepting SS-20 missiles. On the other hand it is ineffectual against short-range ballistic missiles (the SS-21, SS-22, and SS-23 missiles), not to mention planes and cruise missiles which remain in the atmosphere throughout their trajectory.

Consequently, even if a space shield corresponds perfectly to the need to protect the United States from the intercontinental ballistic threat, its contribution to the protection of Europe will be very limited and entirely dependent on the political authority which controls it.

In Europe's case, only defense on the ground can be envisaged. But an excessively large number of systems would be necessary to protect the population. In reality, a European system could only aim to defend military targets.

The idea of a European Defense Initiative [EDI] was suggested in imitation of SDI. It was raised and then rejected by the Germans. Mr Weinberger recently said it was "problematical" both financially and politically, and he gave preference to an SDI program common to the Atlantic alliance.

Our country's defense policy is based on nuclear deterrence. For this purpose we have means which we are trying to render invulnerable. An EDI-type defense system would not provide any additional guarantee to the functioning of our deterrent.

[Isnard] Will French participation in space be limited for the time being to launching, with or without its European allies, observation satellites (Helios) and communications satellites (Syracuse), excluding any armed satellites?

[Quiles] France wants the peaceful use of space. Seeking greater strategic stability in the world, it rejects any weapons in space or on earth which would threaten devices in space.

What are the broad outlines of such a policy which is aimed at "star peace"? They are essentially: communicating, watching, and listening. First communicating, because this is the essential precondition for preventing and handling any crisis which concerns us. Watching and listening are the natural complements to this.

Military programs are based on civilian activities (in other words 12,000 people and 40 percent of European personnel). For instance, my ministry allocated Fr800 million to the financing of the Spot civilian surveillance satellite program.

With regard to telecommunications by satellite, the defense system already has the Syracuse I system which enables it to cover Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Africa, the Atlantic, and part of the Indian Ocean. A more elaborate system giving better protection against jamming and attacks (Syracuse II) should follow in 1992.

The first funds for the Helios military surveillance satellite are included in the 1986 budget. The first satellite of this type should be launched in 1992.

In general, my ministry's space studies group is analyzing defense needs in many spheres like surveillance of the oceans, general electromagnetic intelligence, and future generations of surveillance satellites (radar, infrared).

[Isnard] How will France maintain the credibility of its nuclear deterrent in the medium and long term?

[Quiles] The technical and financial efforts to maintain the credibility of the nuclear threat are out of all proportion to the colossal investments involved in a strategic defense system. In this connection, I am convinced that France will always have the means of ensuring deterrence of the strong by the weak. It is to this end that I recently made important decisions in the sphere of strategic programs.

The most likely and most immediate threat is the strengthening of the conventional ABM defense systems deployed by the Soviets. I have therefore launched a program aimed at developing means which would make it possible to saturate this kind of defense system by increasing the number of attacking missiles and making them virtually undetectable.

In the longer term, many actions have been launched in key spheres such as lasers, particle beams, optica, and computers. A total of Fr600 million is being devoted to them in 1986, which shows the importance we attach to this research.

[Isnard] Do you think SDI is likely to change France's position on disarmament?

[Quiles] France's tradition is that of peace and disarmament. How can we fail to observe today that military spending makes enormous inroads on the wealth of countries, to an extent never before seen. This gives us food for thought at a time when Third World peoples need precious aid to ensure their survival. Our country has always advocated a limitation of arms and threats and we want the balance of forces to be established at the lowest possible level. It is up to the most heavily armed countries to set an example! In this spirit France has also unambiguously advocated the demilitarization of space; it made proposals aimed at this at the Geneva disarmament conference.

Thus, I would like to express my fear at seeing the development of an ABM arms race which will inevitably be accompanied by an offensive arms race aimed at achieving better penetration of defense systems. Everyone knows that the sword has always prevailed over the shield in human history. Everyone knows that the emergence of new weapons has not always had the effect of getting rid of existing ones. There is no doubt that nuclear deterrence is not about to vanish. Of course it represents the expression of a form of "balance of terror" to which it would be dangerous to become accustomed. Nonetheless, it is on the basis of this situation that the disarmament process can best be started.

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CSO: 5200/2596

## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTER QUILES DISCUSSES SDI, EUREKA

FM181510 Paris LIBERATION in French 10 Dec 85 pp 5, 6

[Interview with Defense Minister Paul Quiles by Jean Guissnel--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] LIBERATION: Since you became defense minister 10 weeks ago you have apparently shown great interest in the (military) "management" of crises. Was the aim of this to make the military accept that these crises are the exclusive province of the political authorities?

Quiles: As soon as I took over the Defense Ministry I had to manage a special kind of crisis: the attempt by the Greenpeace organization to hinder or prevent the French nuclear tests in the Pacific. That was a practical case which gave me considerable food for thought. I realized that if the political authorities do not directly monitor the development of a crisis and do not take essential decisions, there is a serious danger: that of seeing those responsible for carrying out decisions, who by definition do not have all the political and diplomatic facts, taking initiatives which may aggravate the crisis.

We must be aware that a crisis is not a war and that the aim is not to defeat the adversary but to ensure that the crisis is overcome. In a paradoxical way, media silence is often proof of success.

LIBERATION: Aside from the Greenpeace affair, have you faced other tense situations since you took office?

Quiles: I can tell you, for instance, that for the 10 weeks that I have been defense minister I have regularly asked for information about what is happening in Chad. I can also tell you about another affair about which there was not much talk but with which I was closely concerned: that of "Hill 888" in Beirut. Our observers, who are very isolated, were in danger there. We had very lengthy discussions with the numerous Lebanese sides and secured the return of the French soldiers to Beirut city.

LIBERATION: General Emry said recently that the role of the French soldiers was not to be "peace-keeping soldiers." Do you think some people would "drag their feet" if the Army had to act as a buffer force again in Africa or the Middle East?

Quiles: I do not think this thinking is very widespread among the military. How could they reject the idea that the Army should also serve as a peace-keeping force in countries which are our allies? This is certainly one of the Army's finest mis-

sions, but this does not mean it is easy to carry out. People should remember Chad and Lebanon.

**LIBERATION:** Do you think you have made your mark on strategic questions?

**Quiles:** I have taken many decisions which enable me to give you a positive reply: For instance, I decided to considerably speed up our program to "aid the penetration" of missiles. The aim is to ensure that our deterrent remains credible even if the potential enemy improves its A/M defenses. Another important decision is the launching of a program to develop a new nuclear warhead which is "invisible" to radar, intended to equip the M4 missiles on submarines.

I have also decided to allocate an additional Fr1 billion to the program for a new generation nuclear submarine whose construction will start next year. I have asked that it be equipped with technologically advanced listening systems when it comes into service in 1994.

**LIBERATION:** You will be accused of giving preference to the naval component of the deterrent force once again...!

**Quiles:** Our deterrent is based on three components: the Albion missiles, the Mirage IV planes, and the submarines. Albion and the planes are likely to become vulnerable toward the end of this century or the beginning of the next. On the other hand, the submarines will continue to be invulnerable for a long time. It would be a serious miscalculation to deploy new systems -- like the mobile SX missile -- while we do not know the consequences of the research connected with the American SDI ("Strategic Defense Initiative" or "star wars") project.

**LIBERATION:** What do you think are the implications of Britain's decision to join the SDI?

**Quiles:** For the time being it is difficult to see what practical significance the agreement concluded between the British and the Americans could have. It has been stated on both sides of the Atlantic that there was no specific commitment.

What have the British obtained in exchange for their support for the American "star wars" project? So far it seems that:

-- There are no plans to transfer technology.

-- No proposal was made to prevent a brain drain which the British nonetheless fear.

-- British industry has not been guaranteed any number of orders or any share of the program whereas that was publicly mentioned by Britain.

Moreover, I note that British Defence Secretary Haseltine, my counterpart, explained that to obtain deals British firms will have to put forward plans which are financially and technologically competitive.

Under these circumstances there is no reason to believe that they will obtain more contracts than the French enterprises which are in a good position in the sphere of mirrors or lasers, for instance. I would like to remind people that the French Government has always said it would not be opposed to our enterprises responding to American offers in the framework of international competition.



Finally, the British agreement strikes me as essentially political, and that does not surprise me because I regard SDI as a project which is essentially political in purpose, although I do not disregard its technological repercussions, which may be considerable.

In this connection I can tell you that a commission comprising scientists and experts in military strategy is studying this question. I have just been given its initial conclusions; they will help me direct our studies and our research to enable a better knowledge of the military technologies of the future and their repercussions.

**LIBERATION:** Do you think the British decision is likely to have effects on the European Eureka program?

**Quiles:** SDI is an exclusively military research program in which the Americans have suggested the Europeans participate under conditions which have never been clearly defined.

Eureka is a mechanism designed by the Europeans to pool their scientific knowledge to carry out high technology projects in civilian spheres.

There is therefore no relationship between these two concepts aside from the desire of the public authorities in Europe and on the other side of the Atlantic to strongly stimulate research connected with the technologies of the future.

In addition, it is probable that the American military program will have civilian repercussions and it cannot be ruled out that the scientific progress which the Europeans will make thanks to Eureka may, in some cases, have military applications: powerful lasers and very large capacity computers.

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CSO: 5200/2596



## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### XINHUA ON EUREKA'S ECONOMIC BENEFITS FOR EUROPE

OW221018 Beijing XINHUA in English 0847 GMT 22 Dec 85

["Year-ender: Western Europe To Meet American and Japanese Challenge in High Technology--(by Li Zhongfa)"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Bonn, December 22 (XINHUA) -- Two high-tech programs have drawn a lot of attention in the West this year: One is the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and the other is the European Research Coordination Agency's (Eureka) program. The former lays particular emphasis on the military and the latter is mainly for civilian use.

Eureka, initially proposed by France last April and officially established in July, is a research program designed to bridge Western Europe's high-tech gap with the United States and Japan. It was conceived to improve the competitiveness of the region in the world market through strengthening cooperation and concentrating all the financial, scientific and technological resources of the West European nations.

Under the Eureka program, research will be conducted in sophisticated technologies including information-processing and communications, robots, new materials, biology, oceanics, laser technology, environment protection and transport. To realize the plan, the West European nations have not only to further break down national boundaries to make full use of their high-tech research forces, but must also pool huge funds. It is estimated that within the next five years, 20 billion Deutsch marks (about 8 billion U.S. dollars) will be needed for research in a number of major Eureka items.

Since Eureka was officially born in July of this year, eighteen West European nations have taken part in the greatest joint project in Western Europe's history. The pace of the program was quickened by the second ministerial conference held last month in Hannover, Federal Germany, at which ministers of the eighteen countries decided the first ten research items of the project. They also agreed to hold the third ministerial conference in London next May.

Why are the West European nations so determined to strengthen cooperation in high-tech research? It is not by accident this has come about but rather a painful conclusion they have made from past lessons.

Over the past two decades, West Europeans failed to readjust their economic structure to meet the increased demands of the world market for new technologies and products. As a result, they began to lag behind the Americans and Japanese who were now providing some very serious competition.

It was Western Europe which produced the first computer and up until the 60s, West European computer companies had been competitive on the international market. However, they withdrew from the competition with the U.S. and Japan. They were awed by the large investments that were being made and did not foresee the important long-term impact computer technology would make on their traditional trade. As a result, the European market is now flooded with Japanese electronic products, and the United States is well in the lead in the fields of photoelectricity, artificial intelligence, high-speed computers, aeronautics and space aviation and new materials.

The lack of government support resulted in reduced funds for high-tech research. From the 40s to the mid 50s, computer research in the United States was financed mainly by the government.

Compared with the United States, which poured over 2 billion U.S. dollars into electronic and computer technology from 1958 to 1964, Britain had made a very small effort. It invested 2.5 million U.S. dollars over the same period, while Federal Germany had done almost nothing.

The Americans and Japanese have made great efforts to increase market capacity, realizing that only those who are in a dominant position can occupy or change the market. The West Europeans, however, have sat back and waited for the market to be ripe. This passive attitude also played a role in blocking high-tech development.

It was the U.S. SDI program that made the West Europeans feel the necessity of uniting to bridge the gap. They realized that concerted efforts to catch up had to be made. Otherwise, they would inevitably become junior partners or contractors or even processing factories of the United States and Japan.

The establishing of Eureka reflects the desire and determination of the West European nations to build up a technological Europe that masters all new technologies and can meet the tremendous challenge from the United States and Japan. The project is realistic when at least three favorable conditions Western Europe has are taken into account.

First, with a population of 320 million and a work force of 40 million, Western Europe has a market much larger than that of the United States and Japan.

Second, it can, though not easily, collect almost the same amount of funds for technological research and development as the U.S. and Japan do. And third, some West European countries have already carried on effective and successful cooperation over the past few years. This has occurred primarily in the fields of aeronautics and space industries, nuclear power stations and telecommunications.

In fact, the competition between Western Europe and the United States and Japan in sophisticated technology is a struggle for the control of the world market. Despite a prevailing sense of urgency for the West European countries to catch up with their competitors it will not be easy for them to reach the goal. Many difficulties still lie ahead and inevitable differences remain because of the number of countries involved.

However, progress is being made in implementing the Eureka program which is a landmark of West European effort towards this end.

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CSO: 5200/4018

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

WARSAW LE FIGARO CORRESPONDENT ON GENEVA SUMMIT

PM271724 Paris LE FIGARO in French 23-24 Nov 85 p 2

[Bernard Margueritte report: "Geneva: Eastern Europe Asks Questions"]

[Text] Warsaw -- Reactions to the Geneva summit in Poland and the socialist countries merely confirm the confusion which these talks have caused in the Eastern bloc from the start. In an official commentary the POLISH PRESS AGENCY is extremely cautious and simply writes under the heading "Almost What Could be expected" that "the Geneva summit has given Soviet-U.S. dialogue a new start and this is its significance," in spite of the fact essentially nothing has been settled.

Moreover in the socialist camp as a whole reactions vary, the greatest satisfaction being expressed in Budapest and East Berlin where there is a desire to revive East-West exchanges, whereas there is a morose atmosphere in Prague for instance. Moreover the communique published after Gorbachev's talks with the Warsaw Pact leaders in Prague talks of "complete unity" but not "completely identical views." The subtle difference in communist casuistry is important and confirms that there were lively debates in the Czechoslovak capital.

In Poland itself reactions vary a great deal according to the circle: In the population there is great hope and relief everywhere since people are convinced that the threat of war has been pushed back.

Among the party "hardliners," on the other hand, there is very obvious irritation. Some people do not hesitate to say that, in their view, Gorbachev went to Canossa not Geneva! They admit that the domestic economic situation makes it difficult for the Soviet Union to pursue the arms race and increases the need for new Western credits, but they cannot accept that Gorbachev gave in to President Reagan's firm stance and went to Geneva despite the deployment of U.S. Euromissiles and agreed to conclude bilateral agreements there without the White House abandoning its "star wars" project.

Moreover, echoing the protests of the West's "hawks," they accuse the Soviet leader of falling into a trap by giving the West the respite its needs to close the "strategic window" which gives the Warsaw Pact theoretical military superiority for some time yet.

## False Start

In Solidarity circles, however, there is obvious anxiety. They think Geneva is not so much Gorbachev's Canossa as Reagan's Munich. Are we going to see a revival of detente, and are we once again going to pay the price of an agreement between the leaders of the two superpowers? They wonder with anxiety, forgetting that Solidarity is the result of detente and would never have seen the light of day without it.

Finally in government circles embarrassment prevails and nobody knows which way to turn: On the one hand they welcome the possibility of an improvement in East-West relations and the promise of vital new credits which it contains.

On the other hand, they wonder whether the Gorbachev who showed so much flexibility toward Reagan in Geneva is the same Gorbachev who, from the Kremlin, has for months been asking the Poles to take a firmer line at home, thus jeopardizing their own relations with the West.

In addition, Gorbachev's signing of various bilateral agreements with the United States, the very day that a "Solidarity Foundation" was formed on the other side of the Atlantic by prominent Americans, is seen here in government circles as a real slap in the face.

Moreover, this may all seem very premature and exaggerated in that the "new start" made in Geneva is highly likely to look like a false start in a few months' time.

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CSO: 5200/3016

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

POLISH PARLIAMENT PASSES RESOLUTION ON GENEVA TALKS

AU031202 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Nov 85 p 1

["Resolution"]

[Text] (PAP)—The PPR Sejm warmly welcomes and praises the fact that CPSU General Secretary M. Gorbachev and U.S. President R. Reagan, leaders of the two powers that bear special responsibility for the fates of the present world, have begun a dialogue.

The very fact that they have met and the results of their talks that have triggered new opportunities to improve the climate of international relations are an event that is very important and that is already of positive significance for the East-West atmosphere.

Expressing the feelings of the Polish people, who are deeply committed to peace, the PPR Sejm fully supports the position assumed by the Soviet leader vis-a-vis the greatest danger of our times--the position that strives to protect the earth against nuclear annihilation, to prevent the spread of armaments to space and to considerably lower the level of nuclear and conventional armaments, while preserving all sides' right to equal security.

The Sejm expresses the conviction that the countries and nations in Europe, which was the source of the two world wars, will take the necessary steps to strengthen and specifically implement the positive process initiated in Geneva.

The Sejm appeals to the PPR Government and authorities to continue its intensive work concerning the issue of peace and war in the world and, especially, its work to consolidate peaceful cooperation, detente, and security in Europe. The Sejm will also do its best in supporting the state's peace policy.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### FURTHER POLISH REACTION TO GENEVA SUMMIT CLOSE

#### SDI 'Insurmountable Barrier'

LD211925 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Nov 85

[Report by correspondent Krzysztof Wojna in Geneva]

[Text] In Geneva, the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan has ended. The talks were summed up in a joint declaration. We link up with our correspondent, Krzysztof Wojna:

When the Geneva summit began, no one actually suspected that its results would be so positive. All in all, only one thing proved true -- that the Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI], in other words, the U.S. program for militarizing space, turned out to be an insurmountable barrier. The USSR continues to believe that without closing the route toward missiles in space, there can be no talk of disarmament. Mikhail Gorbachev talked about this at length and in detail at the news conference today. If outer space becomes militarized, arms control will in fact be impossible. This is why it is so important to come to an understanding now, before it is too late. If both leaders have parted, maintaining the same stance as hitherto in this matter, then after all, it should be noted that in the joint declaration agreed upon by both sides, it is said that the Geneva disarmament negotiations will be speeded up, aimed at preventing an arms race in space, and at halting it on earth. This is a formula which was agreed upon this January by Andrey Gromyko, Soviet foreign minister, and Secretary of State George Shultz. Later, this formula was frequently, sharply criticized in the United States, particularly by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who did not go to Geneva, a fact which was noticed by everybody.

It seems that a great deal will now depend upon whether the meeting in Geneva will begin a process of increased trust between both powers. At today's news conference, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of this very openly. Since the Americans, who have such strong armaments, do not trust the USSR and intend to build a space shield, then why should the USSR believe the United States when they say that they do not have aggressive intentions? The problem of trust is a key issue here, and that is why, for example, an agreement on exchanges such as that signed today, takes on such weight. It creates very wide possibilities for mutual contacts in very many spheres, including modern branches of science. That the Geneva summit was not a one time meeting is also especially relevant, as is the fact that the timetable for further consultations and meetings has been agreed upon. In addition, leaders at the highest level will meet in the very near future, as is stated in the joint declaration. The effects of the



Geneva summit are potentially, markedly more far-reaching on a world scale than it would appear from the documents announced. Quoting the U.S. President, we will get to know them in the approaching months and years.

Summit: Leaders' Success

LD212336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2210 GMT 21 Nov 85

["World Panorama" program presented by Jan Gadomski and Boleslaw Broszczak]

[Excerpts] [Gadomski] All the big press agencies have almost only one theme today: Geneva, Geneva, and Geneva. Tomorrow, all the papers will be filled with detailed reports. Our listeners already know much from news bulletins and from our special correspondent Drzysztof Wojna.

[Broszczak] There are also disappointments among observers of this great event. These are those who counted on a show like a boxing match, on public and sharp Soviet-U.S. arguing. Nothing of the kind happened.

The Geneva talks did not remove the differences in Soviet and U. S. approaches to important issues. But they did not turn into a struggle for a short-lived propaganda victory. The success of the summit talks, partial and compromising as it is, is the success of both leaders.

[Gadomski] While stating that, and rightly so, one must remember that the summit and its course originated in the spirit of the Soviet policy of peace. For the last 6 years the Soviet Union has been the target of unrefined attacks from the U. S. propaganda machine and also from leading U. S. politicians, but it never lost its calm and dignity, and it never rejected the policy of peaceful coexistence which was fundamental for the socialist power. If the Geneva summit has given threatened mankind a gleam of hope, that is because in spite of every contradiction, the Soviet idea of peaceful coexistence won the right to be present at the Geneva table.

[Broszczak] I think that the essence of the matter was most rightly presented by Mikhail Gorbachev who said at today's press conference in Geneva: At present there is not only the question of the confrontation of two sociopolitical systems but also of a choice between survival and mutual annihilation. We have come close to a point in which one has to stop and think and based on reality and a wide view of national interests, to decide what else may be done in the world.

[Gadomski] I will add one more quote, which in my opinion, is a key part of the joint Soviet-U. S. statement signed during the concluding ceremony of the conference. It reads: After discussing the key issues of security, the parties, aware of the particular responsibility of the USSR and the United States for preserving peace, declare that a nuclear war should never be unleashed, and that there can be no victors in it. While recognizing that every conflict between the USSR and the United States could have catastrophic consequences, they also underscored the importance of preventing any war between them, either nuclear or conventional. They will not strive to gain military superiority.

[Broszczak] Some would say that these are only words. Yes, they are words but how different from those which were coming from Washington in recent years. If these words are followed by deeds the world could become a much safer place than it is now.

'Divergences in Key Issues'

LD211630 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 21 Nov 85

[Excerpts] The Soviet-U. S. summit meeting has ended in Geneva.

The course of the talks has been summed up in a joint Soviet-U. S. statement. It says that the main issues of bilateral relations and the present international situation have been comprehensively discussed. The talks were frank and useful. There are still serious divergences in key issues. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the President of the United States agreed to meet again in the near future. Apart from meetings between the leaders of both states, regular meetings of the heads of diplomacy and heads of other ministries and departments are envisaged.

The statement also says that after discussing key issues of security both sides came to the conclusion that a nuclear war should never be unleashed, as there can be no victor. The Soviet Union and the United States will not strive after the gaining of military superiority, and the disarmament talks conducted in Geneva are to be speeded up.

Achievements Due to USSR Policy

LD211258 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 21 Nov 85

[Commentary by Andrzej Walatek]

[Text] Two days of intensive talks, the majority of which were conducted in private, were surrounded by secrecy. No information was given except for the fact that the talks were sincere, matter-of-fact, serious in character, and that they covered all the most important world issues.

In an announcement made today, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that these talks were useful. No agreement has been reached, in fact, on such fundamental issues as the elimination of nuclear weapons and armaments in space. However, it has been established that talks on these issues will be continued by Soviet and U.S. representatives in Geneva. The same can be said of the so-called regional conflicts. However, what we have agreed on, Mikhail Gorbachev stated, will bring beneficial results to the world and peace if we work in the spirit of the Geneva agreements. The Soviet Union will do everything to save peace in the world in cooperation with the United States. This we state, facing our own nation and the nations of the world, Mikhail Gorbachev concluded. The Geneva achievement will not be lost.

Commenting on this statement by the Soviet leader, one can say that this was achieved due to the Soviet Union's policy, because as we saw during the period preceding the Geneva meeting, the Soviet Union made every effort so that the summit would not be futile.

'Much More Than Expected'

LD211245 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 21 Nov 85

[Special correspondent Krzysztof Wojna report from Geneva]

[Excerpts] The world has been awaiting news from Geneva with bated breath all morning. It is known that after the closing of the summit its results were to be announced and a news conference was to be held. Now, let us go over to our special correspondent from Geneva:

Here is Krzysztof Wojna from Geneva. The curtain has been raised and the world has learned that the summit in Geneva has made way for a fundamental change in Soviet-U.S. relations. Promptly at 1000 GMT Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, arrived at the Geneva International Conference Center to announce the results of the 2-day talks.

An agreement on cultural cooperation is worthy of particular attention. It makes way for very broad contacts between the two nations in many areas, from sport to the most modern spheres of science. Thus, a new mechanism for consultations has been set in motion. Another summit has been announced for next year. New channels for cooperation have been opened. It is much more than anybody expected.

Now, a news conference with Mikhail Gorbachev's participation is being held in the headquarters of the Soviet United Nations Mission. I do not know yet the text of the joint Soviet-U.S. declaration, which has been agreed upon by both leaders. So, knowledge of the Geneva summit will get significantly broader within the next few hours.

/8309

CSO: 5200/3017

## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### FURTHER POLISH COMMENT ON GENEVA SUMMIT PROCEEDINGS

#### Press Reaction

LD221307 Warsaw PAP in English 1106 GMT 22 Nov 85

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 22 -- Commenting on the Geneva summit, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote:

"The Soviet-American dialogue started in Geneva carries great importance for the whole world which undoubtedly breathes easier while listening to the joint statement issued at the end of the summit and to what Mikhail Gorbachev said elaborating on the subject.

"The ice has been broken and the way to a lasting dialogue between both superpowers and their leaders has been opened. It is precisely that dialogue, which was underscored in such a strong way by Mikhail Gorbachev at the press conference, that in the future could bring about real detente between the East and West.

The paper concludes: "The world feels safer -- this is the meaning of the Soviet leader's statement at the press conference. Geneva has brought political results, it has opened up new horizons in politics in today's world. The sooner the arms race is halted the better.

In its front-page commentary on the Geneva summit, ZYCIE WARSZAWY termed it the first momentous step and wrote:

"The 'joint statement' shows also the will to seek common ground to solve the existing problems.

"This is a breakthrough in Soviet-U.S. relations that will influence the entirety of East-West relations. Even if the Geneva summit did not bring anything more apart from this excerpt of the declaration saying that nuclear war cannot be won and that it should never be waged and that each side had renounced military superiority over the other, one could and should talk about political success of the forces of reason and realism.

"The Geneva summit was a difficult dialogue. The exchange of views was sincere, sometimes sharp and at times even very sharp. However, one had an impression that both sides attempt to make up for the lost time and to regain what was wasted by a policy of confrontation.

"Even the longest road starts from the first step and such a step was made in Geneva," ZYCIE WARSZAWY said.

Commenting on the meeting of the leaders of Warsaw Treaty member-states in Prague, TRYBUNA LUDU said that it confirms the responsibility for the peaceful development of the world. "It reaffirms the full unity of viewpoints of socialist states, their consolidation and mutual support in the process initiated by Soviet-American talks, the one that opens up new realms for the businesslike dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States.

"In this process of opening a great role has been played by the personality of the kind of statesman Mikhail Gorbachev is.

The leaders of fraternal states in Prague, while expressing deep solidarity with the stance taken by the Soviet Union's delegation in Geneva, underlined with great approbation the personal contribution of the general secretary of the CPSU CC. It was he who in a meaningful and convincing way brought closer the socialist argumentation for the cause of preserving [word indistinct] for mankind and who proved that talks between the superpowers, albeit difficult, were possible, necessary and could be useful. [No closing quotation mark as received]

'Step in Right Direction'

LD221317 Warsaw International Service in English 2230 GMT 21 Nov 85

[Text] Here are some observations on what is certainly the question of the moment -- namely, does the just concluded Soviet-American summit in the persons of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan signal the start of a new dialogue between these two powers, and with it a new stage in East-West relations? The next days, perhaps even hours, will be ticking off relevant signals.

Poland is vitally interested in a favorable turn in American-Soviet relations, as it would signify the possibility of a return to the policy of detente and dialogue. Poland is in the very center of Europe, at the crossroads between East and West, North and South, and across the centuries Poland was a repeated victim of tension and confrontation, the forces of which were far from our own borders and independent of Poland's good will or policy. Hence, our consistency in desire and striving for the defusing of all tensions and the burden of confrontation, which could lead to a catastrophe of unimaginable scope.

Since, Poland's best wishes addressed to the Geneva negotiators. [sentence as heard] The very holding of the summit itself was a favorable signal to millions of people around the world, regardless of their political persuasion and world outlooks, and green light signals from Geneva a step forward despite the mutually agreed news blackout during the course of the talks. [sentence as heard] We share the general view that it was not only a case of smiles and handshakes, though these also had the significance in light of the cold war rhetorics which sounded out of Washington during the first term of office of the current White House tenant. Asked yesterday about his opinion on his talks so far with Mikhail Gorbachev, President Reagan answered with one meaningful word: Fine. In answer to relevant question the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party described his talks with Mr Reagan as frank and businesslike.



Of all the significance, in our opinion, would be unexpectedly prolonged private sessions between both national leaders. [sentence as heard] The common opinion in Poland is that the results of the Geneva meeting have turned out to be considerably better than had been predicted by the specialists, though certainly not as good and far-reaching as were desired by the advocates of the radical improvement in international relations. And, since Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachev acknowledged the need and the possibility of concluding their talks with a joint statement, it is clear that element of understanding and not contradictions dominated their meeting.

Of course, no one entertains the idea that a few hours of talks would yield across-the-board agreements on all disputed matters. There still are and there will be many such matters. But the important thing is that they can be discussed as was pointed out in a frank and businesslike way. Also important is the fact that both sides declared in their statement a readiness to hold another summit in the near future.

And while there are reports of a new Soviet-American cultural agreement, of accords to open new consulates, and the normalization of air links, of essential importance we believe is the joint pledge of readiness to limit armaments. Yes, there are considerable differences on this issue. Overcoming, or at least diminishing, these differences will contribute to further disarmament negotiations which, it is universally believed, will be given a new impetus at last. Geneva should be generating more such favorable impulses. If that takes place the world will heave a sigh of relief. The Soviet-American summit was a step in the right direction.

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CSO: 5200/3019



## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### POLISH RADIO, TV COMMENT ON GENEVA SUMMIT

#### Hopes for 'Concrete Acts'

LD230031 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 22 Nov 85

[Text] Referring to the results of the Geneva summit, the head of the Polish diplomatic service [Foreign Minister Orzechowski] expressed hope that the positive tendencies of the meeting will be transformed into concrete acts which will bear fruit in the form of arms restrictions, the strengthening of trust, and mutually beneficial cooperation.

#### Reagan's Report to Congress

LD221730 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1630 GMT 22 Nov 85

[Text] Immediately after his return from Geneva the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, made a speech to both the houses and Congress. He expressed his conviction that the talks with Mikhail Gorbachev may constitute a key to peace and stabilization in international relations. They have made possible a better understanding by both sides for the position of the Soviet Union and the United States on major issues concerning East-West relations and the policy of arms control.

President Reagan expressed the view that the Geneva meeting was constructive and that further meetings between himself and the Soviet leader can be expected.

#### U.S. Congress' Response

LD221944 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1630 GMT 22 Nov 85

[Text] President Reagan's report at the Capitol and the outcome of the summit have been greeted in Congress with satisfaction but also with a certain amount of reserve due to the impasse in arms control.

Jim Wright, the leader of the Democratic Majority in the House of Representatives, stated today that the Reagan Administration allocates excessive funds for armaments and he called for a concentration of efforts for agreeing on their reduction with the USSR.

The summit was considered to be a good beginning to the process, which ought to be continued.

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CSO: 5200/3020

13 January 1986

## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

## PRC REVIEWS PROGRESS OF ARMS TALKS

HK201448 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Dec 85 p 4

["Year-ender" by Wang Xianhua, reporter based in Geneva: "U.S.-Soviet Contention as Viewed From the Geneva Disarmament Talks"]

[Text] Taking Turns at Escalating the Arms Race

After taking turns at escalating the arms race between them, the United States and the Soviet Union reopened the Geneva disarmament talks against the background of their hostile relations. In the 1970's, under the signboard of "detente," the Soviet Union tried its best to stockpile more nuclear arms than the United States. As a result, the Soviet nuclear strength then was more or less on par with that of the United States. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 led to a deterioration in U.S.-Soviet relations. By deploying SS-20 guided missiles targeted at Western Europe, the Soviet Union upset the balance of U.S. and Soviet nuclear strength in Europe and introduced panic into NATO. Since Reagan assumed power, he has adopted a hardline policy against the Soviet Union, accelerated the stockpiling of weapons, and persuaded NATO members to allow the United States to deploy Pershing II missiles and cruise missiles in their territories in order to counter the SS-20 missiles. Consequently, the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union became increasingly fierce. At the end of 1983, the Soviet Union announced the suspension of the disarmament talks. In March, 1983, before the dispute over the deployment of guided missiles in Europe began to subside, Reagan put forward a "Strategic Defense Initiative" (also known as "star wars") thus expanding the arms race to outer space. In order to draw public opinion to its side and to meet the challenge posed by a space arms race, the Soviet Union had to return to the conference table. In January, 1985, former Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz met and reached an agreement in Geneva, thus reopening the disarmament talks.

## Proposals, Counterproposals, and Contention for Public Opinion

The reopening of the U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks injected an element of dialogue into their confrontation. Between March and early November this year, three rounds of talks were held between the U.S. and Soviet disarmament delegations with each raising proposals and counterproposals. So far, the proposal raised by Gorbachev on 3 October while visiting France, and the counterproposal announced by Reagan on 1 November, have drawn the most attention. These two proposals have some similarities. For example: Both sides agreed to reduce their strategic nuclear arms by 50 percent. Second, the Soviet Union suggested that the maximum number of warheads owned by each side should be maintained at 6,000 and that the number of medium-range guided missiles deployed in

Europe should be temporarily frozen. The United States raised no serious objections to this. However, the third round of talks between the U.S. and Soviet delegations in October was fruitless. At this round of talks, the stand adopted by the United States was markedly different from that of the Soviet Union. First, the Soviet proposal for a large-scale reduction of nuclear arms required that Reagan abandon his "star wars" program.

The United States refused to accept this. Second, the Soviet Union called for reductions in intercontinental missiles, submarine-launched missiles, and heavy bombers, whereas the United States proposed a limit to the number of intercontinental missiles but not to that of submarine-launched missiles and heavy bombers. And third, the Soviet Union called for the classification of Pershing II guided missiles and cruise missiles as strategic arms, and hence for a reduction in their numbers. However, it did not count the SS-20 guided missiles and other medium-range guided missiles targeted on Europe as strategic arms. The United States objected to this. In counting weapons and warheads, they criticized each other and refused to give in. Thus, it can be seen that both the United States and Soviet Union want to achieve and maintain military superiority and to maintain their first-strike nuclear capabilities in particular. By raising proposals and counterproposals, they are trying to enlist the support of public opinion, particularly that in Western Europe.

#### Differences Persist After the Summit

On 19 and 20 November, as the battle between the United States and the Soviet Union for public opinion was reaching its climax, Reagan and Gorbachev held talks in Geneva. On 21 November, they were present at the signing of a U.S.-Soviet joint declaration. As the United States and the Soviet Union are going to devote further efforts to political dialogue and bilateral intercourse, their bilateral relations would improve somewhat. This could contribute to alleviating international tension. However, they still have great differences over a number of important matters of principle. Reagan and Gorbachev "heatedly debated" the issues of "star wars" and regional conflicts. Neither side made concessions on the issues of "star wars" and nuclear arms reduction. In addition, no progress was made on the issue of prolonging the validity of SALT II and the issue of a treaty on limiting the number of antiballistic missiles. Judging by news reports and the remarks of the U.S. and Soviet spokesmen, the two sides failed to reach a consensus on either Afghanistan or Nicaragua. They only made known their general positions on reducing nuclear weapons by 50 percent and speeding up the work at the Geneva disarmament talks and the provisional agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe.

#### As the "Ship Rises With the Tide," Vigilance Must Be Maintained

From the course of U.S.-Soviet talks we can see some characteristics of the U.S.-Soviet contention. First, the arms race has always been a central issue in U.S.-Soviet contention. Second, the escalation of the arms race will make it more difficult to reach agreements at the disarmament talks. The United States has allocated funds for the "star wars" program and Britain has indicated its willingness to join. Some allies have also expressed their support and some companies have started research into its development. Gorbachev has publicly stated that if the United States persists in its "star wars" program, the Soviet Union will be prepared to pay any price to seek "effective countermeasures." People are worried about the prospects of the militarization of outer space and the escalation of the arms race to outer space. Third, U.S.-Soviet military contention is intertwined with their contention for the intermediate zone. Fourth, U.S.-Soviet contention is restricted not only by the domestic forces in each country but also by the growing world public opinion.

All countries in the world hope that both the United States and the Soviet Union will genuinely engage in arms reduction in order to reduce the danger of a nuclear war. However, the U.S.-Soviet summit and the long-drawn-out disarmament talks have not led to a reduction in the arms race. On the contrary, the "ship rises with the tide." For this reason, the people of the world should still maintain a high degree of vigilance.

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CSO: 5200/4017

SALT/START ISSUES

TASS ON U.S. VIOLATIONS OF SALT II

LD291220 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 29 Nov 85

/Text/ Moscow 29 TASS--TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

The official functions of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency which were formulated when it was being founded are to supply the U.S. Congress with estimates of the influence of the Pentagon-suggested military programs on the course of talks on limiting and reducing arms and to work out conclusions as to whether new U.S. weapon systems conform to the already reached international agreements. As was contemplated by the founders of the agency, it was to serve as a counterbalance to the Pentagon which, as a rule, insists on an unrestrained augmentation of U.S. military expenditures.

No one in the United States has even recalled this function of the agency over the past 5 years. The agency headed by its director Kenneth Adelman is more preoccupied with compiling falsehoods for the Congress and the press, the falsehoods which are aimed at "substantiating" the nuclear arms buildup by the United States, at justifying in the eyes of the public the U.S. side's renunciation of still effective accords and at camouflaging the U.S. violations of international agreements.

The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has turned into a propaganda affiliate of the Pentagon. The agency's director Kenneth Adelman only plays up to the Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger who is notorious as an inveterate opponent of any agreements with the USSR.

It is precisely for the purpose of justifying Washington's course of building up U.S. weapons of mass destruction that Adelman resorts to mendacious insinuations that the Soviet Union does not allegedly fulfill its treaty obligations. At a briefing for foreign journalists, the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency came forward with a statement that the United States ostensibly continues to implement the provisions of the SALT II treaty, which remains unratified through the fault of Washington, and that the Soviet Union allegedly violates the treaty provisions.

Such statements on the part of Washington give rise to perplexity, at least. Really, the United States is now creating a new ICBM, the Midgetman, and is completing tests of another one--MX. Meanwhile the creation by any of the



sides of more than one new ICBM is in no uncertain terms forbidden by the Soviet-American SALT II treaty. The United States violates also other provisions of the SALT II treaty.

In order to justify this glaring violation of the treaty obligations by the United States, Adelman states that the United States will observe the provisions of the treaty until the Russians violate it. In the style of the worst traditions of the Pentagon, he at once produces "evidence" that two new ICBMs are being developed in the USSR as well. In so doing he presents the modernized version of an old Soviet missile RS-12 as the second "new type" of a Soviet ICBM. Adelman is not embarrassed by the fact that the USSR has presented concrete facts which convincingly show that the characteristics of the modernized missile fully accord with the respective provisions of the SALT II.

Over the period that has passed since the signing of the SALT II treaty, the USSR has done nothing to circumvent its provisions. It strictly abides by the levels established by the SALT II. The Soviet Union has dismantled about 250 strategic systems so that the established levels of strategic arms would not be exceeded. The USSR's other obligations under the treaty are likewise strictly observed: sublevels for MIRVs and limitations on qualitative upgrading of strategic systems.

The Soviet Union does not seek military superiority, and it has no stimuli to renounce the accords. The Soviet Union's positive attitude to the SALT II treaty has never changed. On the other hand, since the beginning of the eighties, the United States has embarked upon the path of gradual crawling out of the treaty, on the path of violating the treaty provisions. The Pentagon chief does not conceal his attitude to the SALT II, constantly referring to it as a pseudoagreement on arms control, and advises the U.S. President to renounce it altogether.

During the briefing for journalists, Adelman did not limit himself to falsifying facts concerning the implementation by the United States of the treaty on the limitation of the strategic offensive arms. Touching upon the U.S. "Star Wars" plans, he expressed a fantastic supposition that Washington would manage to make the Soviet Union abandon its principled line towards preventing militarization of outer space and would make it reconcile itself to the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative."

This won't work, Mr Adelman!

/12228

CSO: 5200/1196



SALT/START ISSUES

BRIEFS

OBSERVANCE OF SALT II--Washington 21 Nov TASS--By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko. The authoritative Arms Control Association has published a well-argued report justifying the need for the United States and the Soviet Union to undertake a pledge to strictly observe the SALT II treaty, as yet unratified by the United States. The report graphically reveals that the observance of the treaty, which expires in December this year, meets the vital interests of security both of the Soviet Union and the United States. The SALT II treaty restricts the buildup of strategic nuclear armaments, which not only helps prevent the continuation of the ever more dangerous race of strategic nuclear armaments, but also makes it possible to save substantial material resources, the document stresses. According to the authors of the report, the pledge to continue living up to the SALT II treaty would ensure a reliable foundation for the elaboration of a new Soviet-American agreement on strategic armaments. /Text/ /Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 21 Nov 85 LD/ 12228

CSO: 5200/1196

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

TASS: USAF REPORT, SENATE VOTE INCREASE CW TENSION

LD171841 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 17 Dec 85

["U.S.: Propaganda Cover for Chemical Re-Armament" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, December 17 TASS -- TASS commentator Vadim Biryukov writes: The Pentagon has repeatedly tried to convince people that the Agent Orange defoliant is not at all as noxious as described and that the incidence of cancer among the Vietnam war veterans who have been exposed to it is not higher than that among the other Americans.

If one is to believe an upbeat special report on the theme, which has been released by the U.S. Air Force staff, Agent Orange is nearly as harmless as an aftershave.

Only it becomes utterly incomprehensible then what has killed the enormous number of people in the Indochina, who died from poisoning during the U.S. aggression against Vietnam, and why thousands of former GI's and their relatives are still demanding that the Pentagon pay damages to them for their loss of health or the death of their near ones.

The USAF report trying to whitewash these crimes cannot be treated with anything but resentment. It also gives rise to the legitimate question of why Washington is trying to stubbornly to prove what is unprovable.

The answer is self-evident: The Senate-House Conference Committee has approved a bill on appropriations for specific Pentagon programs, including 126 million dollars to start the full-scale production of binary weapons, a fundamentally new kind of chemical ammunition. But the bill is yet to be finally endorsed by the Senate and the House. So in the Pentagon they have decided to back up their criminal undertaking with a "propaganda cover".

The joint Soviet U.S. statement issued after the Geneva summit meeting said: "In the context of discussing security problems, the two sides reaffirmed that they are in favor of a general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles of such weapons. They agreed to accelerate efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention on this matter."

The results of the Geneva dialogue should be consolidated with practical steps towards reducing the war threat on earth and lessening international tension. But the vote in the Senate-House Conference Committee and the pseudoscientific, false report issued by the U.S. Air Force staff are steps going in the opposite direction. They run counter to efforts to deliver humanity from chemical weapons whose stockpiles in the United States are already enough to kill all living on earth several times.

/12858

CSO: 5200/1194

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

USSR: REAGAN CW REMARKS MIX 'PEACEABLENESS, BELLICOSITY'

LD122213 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 12 Dec 85

[Excerpts] In an interview with the West German magazine DIE WELT, President Reagan touched upon the problems of banning chemical weapons. Our observer, Viktor Yenikev, comments:

President Reagan's replies were a blend of peaceableness and bellicosity. For instance, he voiced satisfaction with Mikhail Gorbachev's approach to the problem of banning chemical weapons and regretted the lack of progress at the Geneva talks on chemical weapons. On the other hand, the President made it clear that America would continue building up its stockpiles of chemical weapons in response to what he termed as Soviet potentialities in the field.

This remark greatly devalues his peace rhetoric; in fact this means the United States will continue implementing its chemical rearmament program worth over 10 billion dollars. Such, regrettably, has been Washington's standard reply to the vigorous efforts the Soviet Union has been bending over many years to sign an agreement that would ban chemical weapons once and for all.

The United States has stockpiled such an immense arsenal of toxic chemicals that would be enough to destroy everything living on earth several times over. More than that, America has developed a new and more deadly chemical weapon, binary shells, designed as before for deployment in Europe. The Pentagon plans to outfit Pershing and Tomahawk missiles in the NATO countries with them. As the tragedy in Bhopal showed, conventional chemicals can trigger off a global disaster. If you recall, there was a poisonous gas leak at the Union Carbide factory in that Indian city. Concrete measures are needed to eliminate this danger. Regrettably, President Reagan did not say anything about that in the interview with DIE WELT.

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CSO: 5200/1194

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

TASS: NATO'S CARRINGTON ADVOCATES BINARY WEAPONS 'BUILD UP'

LD131918 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 13 Dec 85

[Text] Moscow, December 13 TASS -- TASS news analyst Vasilii Kharkov writes:

NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington has called upon the United States and NATO to build up the stocks of chemical weapons. The evidence of that is his interview printed on Thursday in the Austrian newspaper DIE PRESSE. Lord Carrington, one of the main advocates in Western Europe of the Washington "star wars" programme, also declared for additional armament of NATO with chemical warfare agents. Arguments that Lord Carrington is resorting to have wholly been borrowed from the Pentagon. Among them is the self-made hackneyed myth of a "Soviet threat". Under that false pretext the United States started deploying its Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe. And now came the turn of binary munitions, the most barbarous type of chemical weapons.

But Lord Carrington lets the cat out of the bag when he declares that chemical weapons, along with nuclear weapons, should become the decisive factor of intimidation. One feels here not only the obvious threat to the Soviet Union, but also the admission that in NATO's plans these two types of weapons of mass destruction are supposed to be used simultaneously, and at the very beginning of a possible conflict.

The incumbent Washington administration has drawn up a broad-scale programme of modernisation of U.S. chemical arsenals through binary munitions. That programme projecting a rise in the quantity of chemical munitions from 3 million to 5 million units will reportedly cost approximately 10 billion dollars.

The Pentagon intends to deploy binary weapons above all on the territory of Western Europe where there are already vast stocks of older American chemical munitions.

The calls of the Nato secretary general enhance the feeling of concern of the European peoples who firmly declare that chemical weapons should have no place in the European continent. The reflection of those sentiments was the proposal of the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia to the FRG Government that negotiations be held on establishing a zone free from chemical weapons in the centre of Europe.

The joint statement of the leaders of the USSR and the USA in favour of universal and complete liquidation of such barbarous weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons is of fundamental significance. The sides, it is said in the joint Soviet-American statement, agreed to step up efforts in this direction.

Lord Carrington should seemingly abide by the positive accords that were reached in Geneva and which open up possibilities for recovery of the international situation.

/12858

CSO: 5200/1194

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

BRIEFS

TASS ON U.S. CW FUNDING--New York, December 3 (TASS)--Almost 1.1 billion dollars are allocated in 1986 fiscal for the program of the "modernization of chemical weapons" in the United States, the PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER reports. Of that amount 163.5 million dollars are to be spent on the research, development and beginning of production of new supertoxic chemicals and warheads, such as 155-mm artillery shells and 200-kg "big eye" bombs filled with a nerve gas. According to the paper, about four billion dollars have been spent since 1978 on the program of "modernization of chemical weapons." The Pentagon presses for the allocation of a further five billion dollars for the same purposes in the coming four years.  
[Text] [Moscow TASS in English 2328 GMT 2 Dec 85 LD] /12858

CSO: 5200/1194

## EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

### TASS: SECURITY, DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE OPENS IN GENEVA

Tolkunov, Perle Remarks

LD171048 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2015 GMT 16 Dec 85

[Report by TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Korzhnev]

[Excerpts] Geneva, 16 Dec (TASS) -- The international conference on the theme "Security and Prospects of Disarmament in Europe," which opened today in the Geneva Palace of Nations, may serve as evidence of the great interest the world public is showing in the recent Soviet-U.S. summit-level meeting. Such questions as the state of talks on questions of European security and disarmament, nuclear and space weapons, and conventional and chemical weapons are included on the agenda.

The main problem of the present day is the problem of guaranteed peace for present and future generations, Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, stated in opening the debates. In the nuclear missile age, security cannot be guaranteed by military means and military force. The speaker stressed, however, having noted the significance of the Geneva meeting, that the real significance of everything positive which its participants agreed on can manifest itself only in practical deeds. This concerns the creation of the possibility of a real halt to the arms race and of adopting practical steps in the reduction of stockpiled nuclear arsenals. But for a radical reduction in nuclear weapons it is absolutely essential to firmly shut the door to weapons being used in space.

Progress along the road of ensuring security and cooperation in Europe, Lev Tolkunov said in conclusion, is impossible without the creation of a system of wide political dialogue, entailing close cooperation between the states, public, and political forces of our continent; without expanding contacts between representatives of the public, science, and culture; and without developing relations between the peoples of Europe in the interests of peace and cooperation, in the interests of mutual spiritual enrichment.

A speech by Richard Perle, U.S. secretary of defense for international security policy, produced discord. From Perle's words it follows that at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space armaments, which resume in January, the Americans intend to conduct the previous line, focusing attention on strategic and medium-range armaments and leaving space weapons aside. But the majority of the participants perceive a new significant threat for the fate of the world posed by the SDI program.



13 January 1986

## Additional Reportage

PM181443 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Kuznetsov under the rubric "On Topics of the Day":  
"For Broad Political Dialogue"]

[Text] Geneva — The international "Security and the Prospects of Disarmament in Europe" conference, convened at the initiative of the UN institute for the study of disarmament problems and the French institute of international relations, has begun work in the Palais des Nations.

Taking part in the conference are eminent political and public figures and scientists from the Soviet Union and other European countries and the United States.

The agenda includes questions of halting the arms race on earth, preventing it in space, strengthening trust, and seeking new paths of cooperation.

Addressing the conference, L.N. Tolkunov chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union and chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, stated that in the nuclear missile and space age security cannot be safeguarded by military actions and military force. What is needed now is flexible realism and political boldness, the boldness to take steps which can in practice move matters from a standstill, put an end to the arms race, and initiate the process of arms reduction.

Speaking of the results of the summit meeting in Geneva and the prospects of the development of international relations, L.N. Tolkunov stressed that the results of the meeting should be used to accelerate talks on nuclear and space armaments. At the same time, the very fact that talks are continuing should not serve as justification or cover for the arms race. The elimination of the nuclear threat requires a responsible approach and further efforts on the part of all states and peace-loving sociopolitical forces. Touching on the situation in Europe, L.N. Tolkunov pointed out that further headway on the path of safeguarding security and cooperation in Europe is impossible without setting up a system of broad political dialogue implying close collaboration between our continent's states and sociopolitical systems. The Soviet Union, he said in conclusion, will seek the development of the process of the relaxation of international tension, regarding it as a natural and essential stage on the path toward an all-embracing and reliable system of security.

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## EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

### PRAVDA CITES CSSR DELEGATE AT MBFR TALKS

PM221631 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 85 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the Vienna Talks"]

[Text] Vienna, 21 Nov--Speaking today at a plenary session of the talks on the Mutual Reduction of Armed Forces and Armaments in Central Europe, the head of the CSSR delegation Ambassador L. Handl stressed the special importance of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva. This meeting, he noted, will no doubt influence the further development of the international situation, the disarmament process, and also the Vienna talks.

The head of the CSSR delegation pointed up the importance of not increasing the levels of the sides' armed forces and armaments in Central Europe in the context of the socialist countries' proposals of 14 February 1985 on initial reductions. While the sides intend seriously to make efforts aimed at securing military detente and improving the military and political situation in Central Europe, they must primarily halt the process of building up armed forces and armaments in that region. The implementation of this measure would facilitate a future shift to more large-scale steps leading to a lessening of military confrontation. However, the West is constantly trying to evade a solution to the problem of freezing arms levels, referring to its complexity. It is necessary primarily to halt the arms race, with a view to reducing armaments and starting real disarmament, L. Handl stressed.

In order to promote the search for a mutually acceptable solution to the problem of freezing arms, he continued, we will leave it at this stage the question of modernization and propose assuming a pledge merely not to increase the level of the main types of armaments in existence at the time the agreement enters into force. However, it is extremely important during the period of operation of the interim agreement not to permit any deployment under the guise of modernization of qualitatively new systems of conventional weapons in Central Europe, whose destructive force would be similar to that of weapons of mass destruction.

In conclusion L. Handl stressed that the desire of the Warsaw Pact countries to obtain a businesslike and constructive response from the West to their

proposal is by no means a "preliminary condition" and certainly not an ultimatum. A positive response from the West would show the seriousness of the West's intentions to discuss the substance of the proposal and would help to define it in the main, which in turn would assist the search for possible compromise solutions on individual aspects.

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## EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

### USSR'S MIKHAYLOV BRIEFS PRESS ON PROGRESS OF MBFR TALKS

#### West's Proposal 'Distorts' Mandate

LD171729 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 17 Dec 85

[Text] Moscow, December 17 TASS -- A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists on the results of the latest, 37th, round of the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of forces and armaments in central Europe was held at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry today.

Speaking at the briefing, the head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks Ambassador Valerian Mikhaylov noted that the delegations of the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries at that round of the talks, too, were urging Western partners for businesslike and constructive discussion of the proposal of the socialist countries of February 14 inst. [of this year] which envisages the initial reduction of land forces and armaments in central Europe by the Soviet Union and the United States with the subsequent non-increase of the level of forces and armaments in the area by all parties to agreement.

Advancing their proposal the Warsaw Treaty countries proceeded from the view that in conditions of the impasse of the Vienna talks the achievement of, even if limited, intermediate agreement would be an initial practical step toward the lowering of the level of confrontation in the centre of Europe.

The head of the Soviet delegation noted that in the course of the passed round of the talks, the Western participants, as before, have not shown the readiness to a concrete discussion of the essence of the socialist countries' proposal. It is only at the latest plenary meeting of December 5 that representatives of NATO countries came up with their suggestions in reply. This time they also declared for initial reductions of Soviet and American troops, but in lesser volumes, and without arms reduction. They also declared that they consent to the freezing of the levels of troops, but without that obligation being applied to armaments.

We positively assess the very fact of the answer of the Western participants, the answer in which a certain step is made toward the February proposal of socialist countries, the head of the Soviet delegation said. But alongside separate constructive provisions the Western proposal contains a number of elements that are not in keeping with the principle of equality and equal security. The main drawback of the proposal of NATO countries is that instead of efforts for real lowering of the level of military confrontation in the centre of Europe it advances proposals on control that are widened so much as to become unacceptable.

Ambassador Valerian Mikhaylov recalled that the proposal of socialist countries of February 14 of the current year envisages that the forces of the USSR and the USA together with their prescribed armaments and military equipment be reduced within a year by 20 thousand and 13 thousand men respectively with the subsequent freeze for two years of the level of forces and armaments in central Europe of all states, parties to agreement on both a collective and national basis.

Answering questions from correspondents, the Soviet representative said that considerations of the Western side in reply were set out in a generalized form in speeches and pronouncements of its representatives. No common document has been advanced. He also noted that the West's proposals show a trend toward the revision of the mandate of the Vienna talks.

As is known, the ambassador went on to say, the subject and objective of the Vienna talks were formulated as mutual reduction of forces and armaments and related measures in central Europe.

Meanwhile, Western participants in their proposals bring to the minimum the personnel reduction, avoid arms reduction and limitation altogether, while seeking to widen indefinitely the measures of control, inspection and so on. All this clearly distorts the mandate of the talks agreed upon in the past, the Soviet representative said in conclusion.

#### 'Positive Fact' of NATO Response

LD180155 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2144 GMT 17 Dec 85

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists on the results of the latest round of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe was held in Moscow at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center.

Valerian Vladimirovich Mikhaylov, the leader of the Soviet delegation at the talks, noted that the delegations from the USSR and other Warsaw pact member-states, striving to achieve a practical shift, came forward with a concrete proposal which envisages a reduction in the Soviet and U.S. forces together with their standard weapons and military technology by 20,000 and 13,000 people respectively with a subsequent freeze for 2 years of the level of forces in central Europe.

Comrade Mikhaylov went on to say: However, one has to ascertain that in the course of this last round of talks, the Western participants did not manifest a readiness for specific discussion of the substance of our proposal. Nevertheless, as you know, at the last plenary session on 5 December, the NATO countries replied with their ideas. We appraise positively the very fact that the Western participants replied to the Warsaw Pact countries' proposal, considering that this type of exchange of signals, the development of political dialogue, corresponds to the accords from the Soviet-U.S. summit level meeting in Geneva. We naturally, are currently carefully examining the reply by the Western side in order to clarify to what extent it could further progress in Vienna.



The main shortcoming of the NATO countries' proposal consists in that it -- this proposal -- nullifies efforts for a real lowering in the level of military confrontation in the center of Europe, substituting them with verification measures that have been deliberately raised too high. This circumstance cannot fail to evoke the question: What is the purpose of doing this? After all, verification must be commensurate with the obligations following the agreement, and further their fulfillment by the sides, not serve as a source for mistrust and suspicion. So, our proposal and the Western one are as yet divergent in many respects. One would like to hope that in the course of further negotiations, realistic and mutually acceptable solutions will finally be found by the efforts of both sides.

#### 'Constructive Elements' in Proposal

LD171744 Prague CTK in English 1641 GMT 17 Dec 85

[Text] Moscow, Dec 17 (CTK correspondent) -- Ambassador Valerian Mikhaylov, head of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna talks on reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, pointed out at a press conference here on the 37th round of the talks that the delegations of the socialist countries again called on their Western partners to constructively consider the Warsaw Treaty proposal for initial reductions of Soviet and U.S. forces and subsequent freeze of forces and armaments in central Europe.

The socialist countries proposed that the Soviet forces be reduced by 20,000 men and the U.S. forces by 13,000 men within a year, and that the forces and armaments of all participants be frozen for two years, Ambassador Mikhaylov said, adding that at the last plenary session of the 37th round on December 5, NATO countries put forward a counter-proposal for a smaller reduction, not applying to weapons.

He said that the response in itself was a positive fact. "We are now carefully considering the response of the Western side, to ascertain to what extent it can contribute to progress at the talks."

The Soviet delegate added that along with certain constructive elements, the NATO proposal contains a number of controversial provisions which are not in keeping with realism and the principle of equality and equal security. "The main shortcoming of the NATO proposal is that it impedes efforts at a realistic lowering of the level of military confrontation in central Europe, substituting them with deliberately inflated verification."

#### 'Excessive Monitoring Measures'

AU171637 Paris AFP in English 1633 GMT 17 Dec 85

[Text] Moscow, Dec 17 (AFP) -- New NATO proposals at talks for the reduction of conventional forces in central Europe are "in themselves a positive factor," the Soviet chief negotiator said here, but stressed that the positions of the two sides were "still very divergent."

Negotiating chief Valerian Mikhaylov, speaking at a press conference here six weeks before the Mutual and Balanced Forces Reduction (MBFR) talks resume in Vienna, said the Western proposals still bore "a series of doubtful elements." They "do not respond to the demands of realism and to the principle of equality and equal security," he said.



He singled out what he termed "deliberately excessive monitoring measures" in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation package, put forward on the proposals chiefly call for the creation of a permanent monitoring stations to oversee any agreement in troop reductions, and for authorisation to carry out on-site inspections.

Mr. Mikhaylov said that the figures for troop reduction quoted in the NATO proposals do not lead to a "real lowering of the level of military confrontation," especially as they failed to mentioned the withdrawal of military materiel as well as men. The Atlantic alliance has suggested the pullout of 5,000 U.S. and 11,500 Soviet troops over a one year period.

The Soviet Union, in a proposal put to the MBFR talks in February, wants a reduction of 13,000 U.S. and 20,000 Soviet troops in the first year, coupled to a three-year undertaking by both sides not to boost their conventional armed forces or arms.

Although the two sides have already reached agreement to reduce their forces in Europe to 700,000, or 900,000 if air force personnel is included, even this accord has been hamstrung by divergence over troop numbers. The West maintains that the Soviet Union and its allies have a numerical supremacy of around 180,000 men. Moscow denies the figure, and contends that the two sides are roughly equal in number.

The MBFR, which gathers 12 NATO members and the seven Warsaw Pact countries, is scheduled to open for its 38th round on January 30.

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## EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

### TASS CITES CDE DELEGATES ON SUMMIT

FRG, Finnish Delegates

LD301507 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 30 Nov 85

[Text] Stockholm, November 30 TASS--TASS correspondent Nikolay Vukolov reports:

We welcome the joint statement on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva and, first and foremost, those of its elements which are projected into the future, Klaus Citron, head of the West German delegation at the Stockholm conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmaments in Europe, told the TASS correspondent. These include, above all, the readiness to make joint efforts to put armaments under control, prevent a new war from breaking out and continue the dialogue, which was confirmed by the two states' leaders.

Of major importance is the fact that the statement puts special stress on the progress of the Stockholm conference and the need to bring it to successful fruition. The results of the Geneva meeting will help energize work at the Stockholm negotiating table and apply a concrete nature to it, K. Citron said.

I would like to express satisfaction with the results of the meeting in Geneva and their significance for the Stockholm conference, head of the Finnish delegation Matti Kahiluoto stressed. The leaders of the USSR and the United States declared for adopting a document of the forum to include both mutually acceptable confidence- and security-building measures and the moves to concretize and impart maximum effectiveness to the principle on the non-use of force. One should hope that the Geneva summit will give a fresh impetus to working out such a document of the Stockholm forum within the shortest possible time so that at their Vienna meeting the representatives of the participating states in the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation could pass over to formulating a mandate concentrating directly on the disarmament problems. I believe that a good atmosphere has been created at the conference now and all delegations are willing to conduct constructive and concrete talks, the Finnish representative observed.

USSR's Grinevskiy

LD221841 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 22 Nov 85

[Text] Stockholm, November 22 TASS--The results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva have riveted the interest of the participants in the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, summing it up as an event of international importance.

Speaking at the conference's plenary meeting, leader of the Soviet delegation Oleg Grinevskiy called the forum's attention to the indepth assessments of the current dangerous turn of events in the world and the ways of overcoming it, which were made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at a news conference in Geneva. The results of the meeting and the shared intent expressed there to facilitate an early and successful completion of the Stockholm conference, the Soviet representative said, can have a fruitful effect on the elaboration of mutually acceptable accords.

USSR's Grinevskiy Cites Gorbachev

LD291326 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 29 Nov 85

[Text] Stockholm, November 29 TASS--The report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and his statement on the Soviet Union's readiness to implement the Geneva agreements into practical deeds received wide acclaim at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. Oleg Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation, drew attention to important assessments contained in the report, of the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting and international situation as a whole. The results of the Geneva meeting, W. Konarski, head of the Polish delegation, stressed, make it possible to abandon the present dangerous situation of confrontation in favour of seeking ways of improving international situation.

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EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

BRIEFS

IZVESTIYA NOTES CDE RESOLUTION--Stockholm, 14 Dec--A resolution has been adopted at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe on appointing coordinators in working groups for moving toward the editing of a draft document which would include both specific commitments on the nonuse of force and mutually acceptable confidence-building measures. This step, Ambassador G. Buehring, head of the GDR delegation, stated, reflected the spirit of Geneva: It marks the practical implementation of the Soviet-U.S. agreements to promote the speediest completion of the Stockholm conference. Ambassador A. Ciarapica, the Italian representative, stressed that the Geneva summit had given a boost to the more dynamic development of the Stockholm talks. [TASS report: "At the Stockholm Forum"] [Text] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 85 Morning Edition p 4 PM] /12858

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